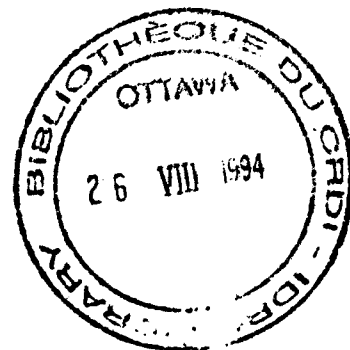


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**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, A NEW DEFINITION OF SECURITY:
INTEGRATING MARGINALISED GROUPS**

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, A NEW DEFINITION OF SECURITY: INTEGRATING MARGINALISED GROUPS

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Race, ethnicity and gender have represented the most intransigent bases of exclusion and marginalisation in our modern history in both "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries. This marginalisation has historically underpinned and currently underlies the recurrent violence and insecurity which plague nations domestically and the global community. Our educational systems have tended to breed and perpetuate race, gender and ethnic subordination and the marginalisation of women, children and racial and ethnic minorities. Legal systems and dominant religions are also often used as tools to reinforce the inequities and support structures of dominance and marginalisation. As the UNDP 1993 development report states, "Laws are often arbitrary and capricious and favour those with political influence and economic clout" p28

Nation states and territorial security claims are also used as mechanisms for maintaining subordination and marginalisation of racial and ethnic minorities and women. The witch hunts which eliminated millions of creative women, the colonial wars and slavery and the first World War, the holocaust and the second World War all shaped the present global community structured on the principles of racial, ethnic and gender hierarchy.

Today, the marginalised represent the majority of the global population and the nation state the dominant arena for violence and armed conflict. The domestic arena is a major battleground of gender violence. Bosnia and Somalia, including the mass raping of women seem to be an inevitable outcome of the present order. Marginalisation of the majority and high levels of domestic and civil violence are endemic to the present system.

The social development challenge lies at a more fundamental level than the inclusion of a missed dimension of security. There was no lack of vision in recognising the human development dimension of security after the second World War. The vision was clear and explicitly articulated. It was also not missing in the provision of balance in the global institutions designed to address the linked security issues of human security and territorial security. UNICEF, WHO, UNDP and ILO were explicitly designed to address the social development facet of the problem. Nor was there a lack of understanding of the need to give economic support in the short and long term to facilitate states undergoing economic crisis. It is precisely for this assistance to countries facing financial difficulties, that the IMF and IBRD were conceived.

The vision has faded. While the United Nations has been in many respects a shining light globally, the balance of attention and

financial resources has been and is increasingly on short term territorial security. The World Bank and IMF function more like commercial banks than development banks and actually drain money from those countries of the South most in need of financial assistance. Their policies have proven harshest to the already marginalised.

The challenge of social development lies at the level of values, ethics and spirituality and the failure of social development policies nationally and globally to actually promote harmonious values in which respect for human dignity, regardless of race, ethnicity or gender is central. It also lies in addressing the failure to understand the importance of nature to the security and survival of humanity. We need therefore to fundamentally rethink the objectives and thrust of present social development policies and development policies in general.

The challenge of social development and the integration of the marginalised thus lies not merely in continuing present education policy and content, health policy and economic policy and drawing women, children and ethnic minorities into the net. In order for educational policy to address the social development challenge of integrating marginalised groups and providing a basis for security, education must be culturally specific, ethically based and gender sensitive, whether it be basic literacy education or the teaching of science and technology, law or management. This means restructuring educational systems and promoting education which is more humanistic and ethical and inculcates a respect for all people and nature.

Health policy focused on disease cure is also likely to involve large costs while accomplishing marginal gains. Health policy must address the promotion of health of the whole individual, physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Diseases are often lifestyle related whether the lifestyle is one of physical deprivation and lack of sanitation or emotional and spiritual deprivation. The costs of inaction or inappropriate responses are prohibitive. It is only when health policy is focused on the integrated aspects of human health, physical, mental, emotional and spiritual, that policy is likely to be effective and health care costs reduced. The health of the natural environment is also more likely to be accorded appropriate policy and national attention.

The challenge of integrating marginalised groups also requires fundamental changes in development conceptualisation and economic policy, which now promote product growth regardless of the nature of the product or whom it serves. "It can be argued that it is decades since real people were included as a component in our widely accepted definitions of what an economy is; only the theory of people has been included or the statistical reflection of people." (John Saul, *Voltaires Bastards*, Penguin 1993 p88). It is

no accident that drug production and arms production and trade are two of the major driving forces of the present global economy.

The challenge also means that there must be a fundamental reform of the structure and policies of the international community, the United Nations system and the World Bank and IMF. At the level of structure, women, and racial and ethnic minorities, must be represented as major stakeholders in the organisation and policy process. National delegations must be representative of the nation, not just the dominant group and must proportionately reflect that diversity. The present representational basis has tended to make many UN agencies reflect the very problem of marginalisation based on race, gender and ethnicity, which they are attempting to address. It must be noted that the UN is actively addressing the issue of gender equity. The agencies which directly address the social development issues and the marginalised such as UNICEF, UNIFEM, UNESCO, WHO, UNEP, UNDP and Human Rights institutions and legal framework must be strengthened. The policies of WHO and UNESCO should focus on support to policies oriented to reforming the educational and health systems.

There must be an active promotion of values and ethics which emphasize respect for and recognition of the dignity of all people, respect for nature and full civic participation at the local, national and global levels. We cannot afford economically, socially or environmentally, the costs of the present inequitable global order. The present challenge calls for commitment and creativity, which are likely to be significantly less costly than the quick fix monetary, military and technological solutions most often sought.

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CHALLENGE

Race, Ethnicity and Gender: Keys to Marginalisation

Race, gender and ethnicity have represented in modern history the most common bases of differentiation and exclusion used by dominant groups to marginalise significant segments of nations and the global community. Millions of women healers, scientists and technologists were massacred in the witch hunts which swept Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (Noble, David. A World Without Women, Alfred Knopf Press, 1992) This violence effectively silenced and marginalised several subsequent generations of women. Of the nearly one billion adults who are illiterate, over 600 million are women (UNDP 1992 p14)

Race and ethnicity were significant factors underpinning the violence and armed conflict of the colonial era, with the carving up of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as the two World Wars. Combined with gender they present the most intransigent bases of marginalisation and violence both domestically and globally.

Rape of women and systematic sexual exploitation of women in warfare represent part of the unwritten rules of the game of social subordination, violence and warfare.

These constructs for exclusion and marginalisation represent rigid walls of resistance in countries of North and South, East and West. In South Africa the richest 5% of the population, mostly white, owns 88% of all private property. Half of the population, mainly black lives beneath the poverty line and most poor black children are stunted by malnutrition (UNDP 1993 p27). In the US the marginalisation of ethnic minorities begins in infancy. While the infant mortality for white babies is 8 per 1,000, for blacks it is 19 per 1,000. The black child is also more likely to grow up in materially poor households (UNDP 1993 p26). The report documents that if the US were treated as two countries, one black, one white, the one with the white population would be in first place in the human development index, while the black country would be with the South in 31st place. This is in a country which is presumed to represent a model of development. Japan comes first in the HDI, however when it is adjusted by gender, Japan falls to 17th. place. (UNDP 1993 p26). As with race and ethnicity in industrialised countries, the material and social benefits of "development" are distributed very unevenly for males and females. Today Bosnia, Somalia, Germany, Los Angeles represent some of the signs that the global community has learned little from its history and may be poised to repeat all the mistakes of the 1940s. Addressing social development with a focus on the integration of marginalised groups is one to which we have to find urgent and creative solutions.

Confronting racism, ethnocentrism and sexism represents the greatest challenge for social development which focuses on the integration of marginalised groups. This suggests that social development is about health, education and employment, but also about values, ethics and culture. It also suggests that given the historical and present global trends, the northern industrialised countries have as much to learn about social development and the integration of marginalised groups as does the South.

Social Development represents the development of people and human capacity through ensuring food security, shelter, education, health, clean air, water, respect for human dignity and conditions for cultural and spiritual growth and a healthy physical environment. Security represents the active promotion of the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health of all individuals, specifically including women, racial and ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples, as well as the promotion of the health of the physical environment on which human survival depends. The two are inextricably interwoven. The global task of social development and ensuring security must now begin in earnest.

The Marginalised are the Majority

Normally when one thinks of a margin one conceives of an integral whole with the margin being the edges spilling over. However, the marginalised women, children and ethnic minorities, who have been excluded from the economic and social goods of "development" represent over 80% of the global community. There is no integral whole into which the "marginalised" can be integrated. The marginalised in fact constitute the mainstream.

The majority are women and children and a disproportionate percentage of ethnic minorities and indigenous people both in the Northern industrialised and Southern states are the victims of physical abuse and violence or threat. In some cases women suffer death because they have not produced a male child and millions of children die needlessly because of malnutrition.

Whose Security; What Security?

Theoretically we seek global and national security to preserve the security of individuals, groups, communities, who make up the nations and the natural resource base on which their survival depends. This peace and harmony in turn is presumed to be a precondition for the nation, group, community and individuals to thrive, economically, culturally and spiritually and thus develop themselves to the fullest. The human development and physical dimensions of security cannot thus be isolated. The nation does not exist outside of its people. However, the statistics on violence and the arms trade suggest that insecurity and violence directed at and consuming the "marginalised" are much more societal and global norms than aberrations.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY

An Institutional Historical Perspective

The recognition of the inextricable connection of social development and global security is not new. Immediately after World War II, international institutions and policy were shaped by three basic complementary perspectives, which are posed here as problems identified and the solutions sought.

Problem 1. The widespread poverty and oppression of the poor in Russia, China and Eastern Europe were perceived to have played a major role in the revolutions that had taken place and the spread of communism. The poverty in Western Europe as a consequence of the war would lead rapidly to the disintegration of Western Europe. Growing poverty and unemployment of the youth in Germany had fed Nazism in Germany and Hitler's mobilisation of youth. This was

reinforced by German chauvinism fuelled by the oppressive reparations imposed by the WW1 settlements.

Solution 1. Global security could best be maintained by promoting human well-being with an emphasis on health, food security and education. WHO, UNESCO, FAO, UNDP were essential international agents in the search for global security. Human Rights were legally enshrined and protected at the international level in the Human Rights Charter.

Problem 2. The proliferation of arms was detrimental to global security and belligerence on the part of any state was not to be tolerated.

Solution 2. War was outlawed in the UN charter and a Collective Security system was instituted, where the global community agreed to come to the defence of any state that was attacked. Germany was disarmed and broader disarmament talks were begun.

Solution 2b. States were encouraged to cooperate with each other and key interest groups to link in cooperative activity in functional cooperation and regional integration. The rationale was that when states were linked together in key aspects of their functioning and wellbeing such as health, education or economic cooperation it would be more difficult for policymakers to break the bonds that forged key technical groups together and represented essential dimensions of states' well-being.

Problem 3. Economic decline was seen as a major cause of poverty and instability. It was therefore perceived that no country should be allowed to reach the point where its economy was near collapse and the welfare of its citizens compromised.

Solution 3. An international financial mechanism was put in place through an agreement reached in Bretton Woods, under which long term development assistance for infrastructure would be provided through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and a financial lending mechanism for assisting short term fiscal adjustments, the International Monetary Fund established.

Present Global Context: The escalating spiral of violence, insecurity and social disintegration

Social Development is no longer viewed as a key to national and global security. Security is now most often defined as national security translated as control over and defense of territory as opposed to human security. Security both human and territorial is becoming more and more a chimera, not because of foreign attacks, but increasingly because of the domestic breakdown in social order. Civil War and violence are an increasing reality and are drawing

in the larger international community. We have also seen the rise of societal violence in modern industrialised countries, particularly urban violence. At the same time the prevalence of domestic violence cutting across class, race and culture is increasingly documented.

Today's societies are characterized by fear, increased poverty and concentration of wealth, food insecurity, environmental degradation, family breakdown, community and social breakdown, increased drug use and increased violence. Health of the individual and health of society are undermined at every level. Productivity and balanced economic growth are compromised. Violence against women is a pervasive dimension of the societal violence.

The 1992 and 1993 UNDP Human Development Reports eloquently documented the widening gap between materially rich and poor globally and nationally, in the northern industrialised countries and in the South. Equally well documented is the widening material poverty. In countries of the South which are hailed as taking off economically like Chile between 1970-88 the real income of the poorest 20% fell by 3%, while the real income of the richest 20% increased by 10%.(UNDP p25)

The accentuation of social difference manifests itself in both 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries. "The traditional strategies of development are centred on product-based growth. Harmonic development which takes environmental factors and the rational use of natural resources into account is not the objective of such strategies. Nor do they take into account what is produced and for whom. The protagonists and the beneficiaries are a minority; the majority are the passive subjects and those harmed by these strategies." (United Nations, GA 25 March 1993)

Many ethnic minorities live like separate nations within their own countries. (UNDP Human Development Report 1993 p 1) Women are hard hit by the mounting violence. Although global military spending is declining, the sale of arms to countries of the South and individuals including youth in the North has escalated. The domestic violence absorbs enormous resources and the health and education implications are staggering. In Los Angeles county alone, over \$8 million were needed to provide acute care and rehabilitation services for persons whose spinal cord injuries were due to gunshot wounds (Adkins, Rodney, Rancho Los Amigos Rehabilitation and Medical Center) In the same county, rates of suicide are highest among elderly white men, most of whom use firearms. In 1992, in LA county paramedics responded to 42,000 calls for assistance following acts of violence. This compared with 22,764 calls for heart attacks. In LA every five days a woman dies at the hands of her husband or boyfriend. During 1990-91 approximately 1,600 children were expelled from public schools, two thirds of the expulsions were for weapons possession and assault.

Gender, Marginalisation and Violence

Women and children are the world's largest excluded group. Women's education is often seen as expendable even though statistics demonstrate that the education of the women is directly related to educational levels of the children, better nutrition of the children and lower fertility levels. Women make up two thirds of the world's illiterates. Women produce and prepare most of the food for domestic consumption in the South, they are responsible for household management primary health care of the sick and elderly but their work is not counted in national income statistics. Even when women are given access to employment their wages for similar activity is often much lower. In Korea women's wages are 47% those of men and in Japan women receive 51% of male wages.

Increasing armed conflict, violence against women and violence against environment are manifestations of global and societal inequalities and power struggles, within a context where power is seen as external and nature and women are perceived as territory to be subordinated and controlled.

Societal acceptance of women's subordination and women as property makes women the targets of those who wish to assert or establish their control and external power. Women and children constitute eighty percent of the refugees of civil wars. Rape of women as a tool of war, where women are considered part of the territory to be captured and despoiled, has been receiving global attention. Women are most likely to be the victims of domestic violence.

In the US a rape occurs every six minutes and a woman is battered every fifteen seconds. A woman is murdered by her husband or boyfriend every six hours. Twenty five to thirty five percent of battered women are pregnant, which results in increase of neo-natal care, increased likelihood of miscarriage, increased risk of mental retardation and physical disability in children. In France 95% of the victims of personal violence are women, more than half injured at the hands of a spouse or lover. In Bombay 99% of the fetuses aborted are female. In Papua New Guinea 61-70% of homicide victims were women. (Ford Foundation, Violence Against Women, 1992 pp 2, 4) Genital mutilation in some parts of Africa, suttee in sections of Asia and high levels of female battering in Latin America form part of the picture. There is no country or region in the world in which violence against women is not endemic.

Violence and insecurity are also linked to increasing environmental degradation and fuels that degradation. The Iraqi oil fires are only the most dramatic of this linkage.

Institutional Trends

Collective insecurity is the reality. The United Nations is becoming more reactive than proactive in shaping a climate a global peace and is being drawn increasingly into the armed conflicts proliferating around the globe. Some of the most intense and brutal armed conflicts presently taking place are within the borders of states, rather than between states.

IBRD functions like a regular commercial bank on a world scale and with significantly more power than most single commercial banks. Rather than reconstruction and development it is now profiting from the poor Southern states. IMF has become what one young boy from a country suffering the social dislocation of a World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Programme called in a prize winning poem, the International Meddling Fund. When South countries have to go to the IMF it is considered a national calamity and the ushering in of national social disintegration, increased poverty and particularly hardship for the poor, women and marginalized groups. Many governments have faced widespread social unrest and in democratic systems almost certain loss of office. In nondemocratic systems Structural Adjustment has been accompanied by increased purchase of arms by the government and decreased expenditure on social programs. (UNICEF/SIPRI, Arms and the Child, New York 1991)

We have strayed a long way from the insights gained from the last half century of our human history and the regional and global institutional instruments which sought to draw on these insights. The maxim that those who are not prepared to learn from their past are doomed to repeat it holds true equally for individuals, organisations and nations.

The Competition Between Military Expenditure And Social Development

In the least developed countries 13 million children die each year before they reach the age of five. Millions of children live in the streets in Southern states with India having the largest number. New Delhi and Bombay have approximately 100,000, street children each, Bangalore, 43,000. India's juvenile crime rate is 3.1 per 1000, Street children are also a growing problem in Africa. It is estimated that there are 25,000 street children in Nairobi. (UNDP 1993 p 24) In Brazil which is one of the materially richest countries of the South street children are a pervasive feature of the urban districts.

The following facts from UNICEF/SIPRI report on Arms and the Child 1991 are instructive.

Aggregate military expenditure in sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa, was \$5 billion in 1988 (UNICEF/SIPRI 1991 p.xii) In

the mid 1980s over half of the total population of sub-Saharan Africa, 53%, was classified as living below the poverty line as defined by the World Bank. (p. 10)

Military expenditure competes directly and most often with government spending on health and education. According to World Bank estimates, in 1985 around 2.5 % of Sub-Saharan Africa's GNP was spent by governments on human development with special reference to children, primary education, primary health care, food security interventions and nutrition, family planning water and sanitation programmes. It is estimated that 26 countries of the 35 Sub-Saharan states had 100 percent illiteracy among poor females. (UNICEF/SIPRI p.11)

At the same time Sub-Saharan Africa spends 4.5 percent of GNP on military expenditure, roughly 2.2 percent of GNP on public order and safety, about 6.9 percent of GNP on known external debt servicing and possibly 1.4 per cent of GNP on hidden debt servicing for arms imports, according to SIPRI estimates. Taken together, these economically unproductive expenditures constitute 15% or almost one sixth of the total output of sub-Saharan Africa p3. About one million people in Sub-Saharan Africa consume, over extended time periods less than 80% of calorie requirements, some people consume substantially less, which effectively means long term starvation even in the absence of famines.

Value Trends

Race, class, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality are only some of the tools of differentiation and subordination which we presently use to build our egos, individually and nationally and disproportionately allocate resources and opportunities for human development. The energies of 80% of most states and the global community in general are presently consumed with basic survival and security issues such as food, shelter, health and employment. There is very little energy left for dynamic entrepreneurship, creativity and production propelled by love and enthusiasm. Fear, violence and insecurity characterise the very essence of our present way of life and are a clear manifestation of the disregard to human development.

THE WAY FORWARD

When the task of integrating the marginalised groups is the task of integrating 80% -90% of the global population, it is clear that we cannot prescribe business as usual with a few policy shifts. It indicates that we are clearly on the wrong track, institutionally and ethically. The millions of poor marginalised women, children, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities are the mainstream and their social development must be a priority of

policy and action at every level. There must be a fundamental shift in direction by the global community.

There are several major shifts that have taken place in the global community since 1944 and significant new insights which need to guide our vision of the way forward;

1. States are no longer the only major actors internationally or domestically. Multinational organisations and Nongovernmental Organisations are now major players shaping the global and national community.

2. States are not gender neutral and women have been largely excluded from defining the national and global problems and shaping the solutions. A major imbalance in policy perspectives and distribution of access to resources and benefits has resulted with negative consequences for overall social development, family, national and global well being. This was brought out clearly in the most recent United Nations Human Rights Conference. The redress of this imbalance is imperative for positive social development.

3. Ethics, and increased spirituality are essential to shaping secure, harmonious individuals, human relations and global peace and security.

United Nations Institutional Change

The United Nations system needs to accommodate more integrally, civil society and the key multiple stakeholders who have now emerged. Personnel selected to represent the nation should be drawn from the multiple stakeholders and not just government and should be gender balanced.

There must be greater balance in the allocation of funds to the agencies such as UNICEF, WHO, UNIFEM, UNEP and UNDP. Personnel should not be determined by governments alone but by the multiple stakeholders.

The IBRD and IMF must revisit their original mandate and the spirit of that mandate. They must give priority to social and human development. They must become more democratic, transparent and accountable. Their staff organisation and teams should be more multidisciplinary and gender balanced and reflective of the multiple stakeholders.

UN Regional and Sub-regional Economic Commissions should direct increasing attention to the challenges posed by the overlapping dimensions of the social development imperative, economic development and sustainable development. The research at a regional level ought to be charged to more multidisciplinary gender balanced teams which have the capacity to address issues such as integrating voluntary and household labour into national income statistics and

identifying accounting systems which integrate environmental as well as ethical criteria. One implication of the ethical criteria would be that we can no longer consider drug sales and the production and sale of arms on the positive side of the balance sheet of national accounts. Social development statistics, such as those on integrating voluntary and household labour would also need to play a greater role in policy formulation.

Legal/Conceptual Changes

The American association of Jurists in its submission to the World conference on Human Rights UN GA A/Con.157/PC/63/Add.8 25 March 1993 indicated that "The preservation of human rights, like that of peace of which it is a prerequisite, requires urgent, even immediate action in the face of major crises. UN p.10

Taking the Declaration on the Right to Development as our basis, we must continue to develop our thinking on the concept of development, bearing in mind in particular:

1 That it is a comprehensive process whose main subject is the human being and whose purpose is the full realisation of human beings in all respects (physical, intellectual, moral, cultural) within the community;

2. That this process requires the active and conscious participation of individuals and communities in decision-making at all stages, from determination of objectives and means of achieving them through their implementation and assessment of results;

3. That the right to development encompasses the right to enjoy civil and political freedoms and the absence of any type of discrimination.

4. That there is no single or pre-established model for development, which is why genuine development requires the self determination of peoples, recognition of their sovereignty over their natural resources and wealth and full respect of their cultural identity;

5. That development is not a problem which concerns solely the 'developing' countries, but an objective of interest to the entire international community, because of the interdependence of all nations (UN GA 1993 p3)

They reinforce the right to development and economic, social and cultural rights as part of current positive international law and put forward in their conclusion three major goals for the international community to prevent violations of economic, social and cultural rights from going unpunished. These recommendations should be fully endorsed and implemented.

Creating a Supportive Ethical and Value Framework

Laws and institutional changes are important, but they are only effective in a climate of general support for the spirit of the laws and institutional mandates. Supportive values and mores are therefore critical to success. It is ultimately the individuals who belong to the institutions, those who shape the laws, the people who chose the leaders and acquiesce tacitly or explicitly in the system rules and values, who shape or alter the institutions and systems. It is ultimately individual and community values and actions which determine a particular order. We therefore need to pay attention to values and ethics individually and institutionally.

There must be a new definition of security away from control of territory. Social development must represent the key element in the definition of security. Our current definition of security as territorial power and control has created societies in which violence is the norm and women, children and nature the pawns in a senseless search for external power. Driven by ego and the search for external power, we have created joyless societies in which neither rich nor poor enjoy health, security and well being, in which we are disconnected from ourselves, one another and community.

For the present cycle to be broken we need a new concept of power. Less role of ego. Less preoccupation with defining bases of superiority over others and more concern with forging community. We need to emphasise greater respect for human dignity, respect for women and respect for nature in every sphere of activity, particularly management, economics and education.

In order to generate the positive social energy that creates and maintains an inclusive, socially developed and harmonious community across ethnic, class, gender and nationality lines, values of inclusiveness, community and cooperation must be actively promoted.

The United Nations has to take the lead at the global level in setting the new direction, where social development is defined as the key to security. However, in order to facilitate that change at the local, national and global levels, a major part of the responsibility rests with each individual in our personal and organisational capacities.